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THE  
LIFE and REIGN

*of*  
Henry the Sixth.

Giving a full Account of

The *English* Glory  
Abroad.

Their Factions at  
Home.

The Fatal Treaty of  
*Tours*.

The Loss of *France*,

And,

The Civil Wars in  
*England*.

About the

*Hereditary* and *Parliamentary* Right,

Between the Two Houses of

YORK and LANCASTER.

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THE  
REIGN  
OF

*Henry the Sixth.*

**I**F there is any part of our *History* that can strike an *English* Reader at this time, it must be the Reign of this Prince; in which the Glory of *England* was at the Height, the *French* Power destroy'd by her Arms, and our King crown'd in their Capital: When all at once by a fatal Change of Councils and Measures, we not only lost the Dominions in *France* belonging to the Crown of *England*, as well by Inheritance as Conquest, but were expos'd to the Insults and Invasions of our vanquish'd Enemy. This Inconstancy of our Temper has more than once reduc'd us from a Condition that made us the Envy of our Neighbours to a State of Contempt or Pity. To be a *Bye-word* to those who before never spoke

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of

of us but with Admiration and Praise, and has render'd our Friendship as dangerous as our Enmity. A Man of good Sense and Quality reflecting on this Disposition of ours, said, *Some People might take the English to be Wise, but they were mistaken; some again take 'em to be Fools, but they were out too; for in truth we are Mad.* There's a Touch of Lunacy in almost all of us, at least more than in any other Nation in *Europe*: We do not know what we wou'd have; we adore this Year what the next we shall detest. Sometimes we rave for Liberty, at others we dispise it; sometimes talk of nothing but Riches and Glory, at others of Beggary and Infamy: Sometimes our Heads are full of Religion, at others 'tis the thing we least think of: Sometimes Popery is a Terror, at others a Jest; and as the Moon works, we are afraid or fond of Slavery. For that we have hitherto preserv'd our Liberties, I take to be owing more to the Virtue of our good Princes, than to a Sense or Spirit of Freedom, which has been a fine Topick for our Poets and Orators, but a very Poor one for our Historians.

I am far from being one of those Politicians who think Liberty is confin'd to a Commonwealth; our own Constitution is the happiest in the Universe, and a Proof that *Monarchy* is the best Guardian of it. What Madness therefore is it on one side to stretch the Prerogative of the Sovereign beyond the Laws, or on the other, to extend the Liberties of the Subject beyond

yond Obedience. All the Parts of our Government are so fram'd to support each other, that nothing but *Distraction* can hurt it; and as long as our Heads are settled, so long will our Constitution be safe; but if we are as various as our Climate, our Fortune will be so too, and we must depend more on our Luck than our Conduct.

In treating of the Reign of this Prince, I shall not begin with the Story of his Birth and Infancy, my design being to give a clear view of the Strength of the *English* Monarchy in his Time, of the Weakness of the *French*, and by what means the former was broken in a Campaign or Two, the Conquests of many Years lost in as many Moons, and the Power of *France* so restor'd and confirm'd, that She has ever since given Laws to all the Nations around Her. I shall not look into the Title of the Crown of *England* to that of *France*, nor the Progresses made by *Edward* the III. and *Henry* the V. to recover it; but content my self to shew the extent of the *English* Empire on the Continent, the Impotence of the Pretender to it, the *Dauphin*, afterwards *Charles* the VII. and how easily by our Factions, Divisions and Changes in *England*, that Pretender not only seated himself on the Throne King *Henry* possess'd at *Paris*, but so weakened him, that in a short time he lost that on which he Sat at *London*; and the terrible Effects of the Animosities among the Great Men of that Age, of the Envy



of some, the Revenge of others, of Avarice and Ambition in more, will be an Instance to all future Ages of our want of Honesty or Understanding, and perhaps both.

King *Henry* the V. dying the 31st of *August* 1422. was succeeded by his Son *Henry* the VI. then an Infant, under the Governance of *Henry* Duke of *Gloucester*, as Protector of *England*, *John* Duke of *Bedford* as Regent of *France*, and *Tho.* Duke of *Exeter* and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, his Uncle and Great Uncle, as Governors of the young King's Person. The Ground the *English* had got in *France* was owing to their League with the Duke of *Burgundy*, Sovereign of the *Netherlands*, who, tho' of the Line of *Valois*, always bore Enmity to the *French* King, for his Arrogance and Incroachments in his Conduct towards him. It was King *Henry* the Vth's last Advice to the Duke's of *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, who visited him at *Bois de Vincennes*, where he dy'd, To joyn together in Friendly Love and Concord, to maintain the Confederacy with the Duke of *Burgundy*, never to enter into a Treaty with the Dauphin of *France*, by which any Part, either of the Crown of *France* or the Dutchies of *Normandy* or *Guyenne*, should be yielded to him; and further, not to admit the Duke of *Orleans*, then a Prisoner in *England*, to return to *France*. How this Advice was pursued we shall see hereafter. It was also the Command of this Victorious King on his Death Bed to his Two Brothers, the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Gloucester*,



tetter, That they should improve their  
 Conquests over the *French*, and pursue the  
 Dauphin with Fire and Sword till they had  
 brought him to Reason, or driven him out of  
 the Kingdom. This Dauphin, afterwards  
 Charles the VII. had refus'd to ratify the  
 Treaty his Father Charles the VI. had made  
 with King Henry the V. at *Troyes*, wherein  
 it was stipulated, That King Henry should  
 succeed to the Crown of *France* after the  
 Death of Charles the VI. and be Regent of  
 that Kingdom during his Life. The Dau-  
 phin asserted his own Rights, both to the  
 Regency and Succession, and his Father  
 Charles the VI. dying about the same time  
 as King Henry, he assum'd the Title and  
 Place of King at *Bourges* in *Berry*, where his  
 Circumstances were so mean, that by way  
 of Derision he was call'd the King of *Ber-*  
*ry*, and by the *English* only the pretended  
 Dauphin or *Armagnac*. This Treaty be-  
 tween Charles the VI. and Henry the V.  
 was confirm'd by the Three Estates of  
*France*, which had not then lost her Liber-  
 ty; and the Dauphin at the Death of his  
 Father was look'd upon to be a Pretender  
 to the Crown, in as much Impotence to  
 obtain it as any such Pretender ever was.  
 He was Master only of the *Bourbonnois*,  
*Auvergne*, *Poitou*, *Touraine*, and a part of  
*Anjou* and *Languedoc*. The *English* were in  
 possession of all the Sea Coasts from *Bay-*  
*onne* to the *Netherlands*, excepting the  
 Precarious Dominion of the Duke of *Bre-*  
*tagne*; of all the other Provinces of *France*,  
*Orleans* and a few other Towns only ex-  
 cepted;

cepted ; of the Capital, the Royal Houses and *Regalia* when King *Henry* dy'd ; and while the Ministers who had the Government of the King his Son, and this Kingdom, continu'd firm to the Alliance with the *Low Countries*, then under a Sovereign, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *Dauphin's* Attempts to expel the *English* were all in vain. The Duke of *Bedford* extended his Conquests, and the Minority of the King of *England* did not at all affect the Progress of his Arms ; till Envy, and other Hellish Passions, divided our Councils, and every one pursuing his own sordid Interest, betray'd or neglected that of their Master and the Publick. This naturally caus'd a Confusion, of which the *French* made their Advantage, and preserv'd them from that subjection which the Divine Right of Succession, War and Treaties, had given the *English* over them.

The Duke of *Bedford*, a Prince equally Eminent for his Wisdom and Valour, and who did not content himself only with the safe Direction of the Cabinet, but was as forward to act as to counsel, began his Government with renewing the Leagues that had been made against *France* by King *Henry*, and particularly that with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, to strengthen which he marry'd that Prince's Sister ; after this he routed the *French* and *Scots* Army at *Vernoyle* in *Perch*, killing 10000 on the spot, and taking a great number of Prisoners ; which Victory was attended with the Reduction

duction of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and the *Dauphin* was streightn'd still more in his Kingdom of *Berry*. It was fear'd on the Death of King *Henry*, there wou'd never have been such a General to lead the Armies of *England* and her Confederates; but the first Campaign made by this Duke, shew'd the *English*, that when they are acted by vigorous Councils, and the *French* are the Enemy, they will not want Heroes to Command them, and teach them to Conquer. But while this Heroick Captain was doing Wonders Abroad, Fewds and Strife increas'd at Home, and Steps were taken which threatned the Ruin of his Victories. The D. of *Gloucester* took away the Duke of *Brabant's* Wife from him, tho' her Husband was Friend to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the best Friend at that time *England* cou'd be ally'd with, as being Sovereign to those Provinces whose Interest is inseparable from that of *England*.

The Bishop of *Winchester*, Uncle to the Duke of *Gloucester*, thought himself wrong'd in the loss of the Chief Dignity of the Kingdom; and being honour'd with the *Roman Purple*, judg'd it a great Affront to him, that he who was the Son of *John of Gaunt*, a Cardinal and a Bishop, should give Place to his Nephew the Duke of *Gloucester*. The Pride of the Popish Priesthood, none other I hope can be justly charg'd with that Vice, having often set this Kingdom in a Flame as it now did in such manner, that the Duke of *Bedford* was forc'd to come to *England* to reconcile the differences



differences between his Brother and his Uncle. I shall not undertake to enter into the detail of the several Military Actions in *France*, between the Regent, the Duke of *Bedford* and the Dauphin *Charles*, Son of *Charles* the VI. 'Tis enough to observe that the Regent, and the Dauphin alternately got and lost Ground; but that the former maintain'd himself in the Government of the Capital and the greatest part of the Kingdom of *France*. In the Tenth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the VIth. the Young King was conducted to *Paris*, and there Crown'd with all imaginable Solemnity and Splendor, being attended by the Cardinals of *Winchester* and *York*, the Dukes of *Bedford*, *York*, and *Norfolk*; the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Ormond*, *Mortaigne*, and *Suffolk*; the Count de *Longueville*, the Count de *la Marche*, and many other Lords, His Subjects of *England*, *Guyenne* and *Normandy*; by the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Cardinal of *Luxemburgh*, the Bishops of *Beauvais* and *Noyon*, Peers of *France*; the Bishop of *Paris*, and several other Bishops; the Count de *Vaudemont*, and a vast number of *French* and *Flemish* Lords.

On the 17th of *December* 1431. was *Henry* the VIth King of *England*, Crown'd King of *France* in the Church of *Notredame* in *Paris*, by the Cardinal of *Winchester*: The Ceremony being over, he returned to the Palace, having one Crown on his Head and another bore before him, one Scepter in his Hand and another bore also before him.



The Cardinal of *Winchester* took upon him, out of Enmity to the Duke of *Bedford*, to order him not to assume the Title of Regent, while the young King was in *France*, which occasion'd an irreconcilable Quarrel between them, and was the Source of all those Divisions that caus'd the decay of the *English* Interest in that Kingdom. These jars among the *English* Ministers made the *French* begin to think meanly of their Politicks, and that encourag'd them to continue their Attempts to regain what they had lost.

But they despair'd of succeeding by War, and therefore apply'd to the Pope *Eugenius* the IV. to procure them a Suspension of Arms, hoping by that means to divide the *English* and *Burgundians*. Accordingly the Cardinal of *Sancta Croce*, so mediated between the *English* and *French*, that a Truce of Six Years was agreed upon soon after King *Henry* had been Crown'd at *Paris*; upon which the *English* Affairs in *France* declin'd daily. The Spirit that had animated them in their Conquests was lost, and they had not Courage to resent the Infractions of the Truce which the *French* made as soon as it was agreed upon. The Count de *Dunois* surpris'd the Town of *Chartres*, and it being remonstrated that 'twas a breach of the Truce, the *English* were content with this Answer from the *French*, that the Stealing or Buying a Town, without Invasion or Assault, was no breach of League, Amity or Truce. While these Things were transacting in *France*, the *Lol-*  
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*lards* and others, who began to see into the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, were persecuted with all possible Fury in *England*; where it had been more Prudence for the Government to have exercis'd Moderation, in order to preserve that Union at Home, which is of absolute necessity to us maintain Conquests Abroad. *William Mandeville* and *John Sharp*, were hang'd for Preaching an Impious Doctrine, that *Priests should have no Possessions*, whereas, says an Old Author, Others thought their Opinions were not such Errors, but that their Enemies spread abroad such Rumours of them, to make them more Odious to the People. Upon the Conclusion of the Treaty for a Suspension of Arms, the Friends to *France*, who began to grow numerous in the Court of *England*, were rather for Disbanding the Forces, than for raising more, and great Debates were about that Matter at *Roan*, where King *Henry* kept his Court; but the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Somerset* prevail'd to have new Levies made, that they might be provided against any attempt of the Enemy; not thinking it Prudent or Safe to trust to their Suspension, which indeed was very little to be depended on; for not long after the surprizal of *Chartres*, the Truce having not lasted above a Year, they broke it, surpriz'd the Town of *St. Valery* in *Normandy*, and ravag'd that Province, which renew'd the War before the People of each Nation had felt any thing of the Sweets or Benefit of Peace. The Lord *Talbot* arriv'd with a New Army in *France*, and

and the *French* soon repented their having broken a Truce, which the *English* in good Policy ought not to have given them. We must not forget what a Charge King *Henry* the Vth. gave his Brethern and Ministers, to cultivate the League with the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was now broken by *Displeasure and Grudges* between that Duke and the Regent of *France*, maintain'd, says *Holinshed*, by some *Flatering Tale-bearers*, who raising Matters of reproach touching their Honours, bred such grudges that all Love between them ceased, all *Affinity* rejected, and old *Friendship* forgotten. Thus Faction began those Animosities that Division and War ended. For the Duke of *Burgundy* in the 13th Year of King *Henry*, concluded a seperate Treaty with King *Charles*, and sent his Herald *Toison d' Or*, to advise King *Henry* to do the same, whereby the long continued War at length might cease, to the Pleasure of *Almighty God*, who is the Author of Peace and Concord. The Citizens of *London* were so enrag'd at this seperate Treaty between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *French*, that they fell upon the *Flemings* and *Burgundians*, and slew a great number of them, so highly did they resent the Breach of a Confederacy which had been so gloriously supported above Twenty Years.

The Duke of *Gloucester* and the Ministers in *England* answer'd the Duke of *Burgundy's* Herald, That it stood not with his Master's Honour to be an Enemy to the *English* and that what a new reconcil'd Enemy was in respect of an old try'd Friend he might



*shortly find.* The Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, dying about the time of the *Burgundian's* separate Treaty, the Duke of *York* was appointed Governor of *France* in his stead. The Duke of *Somerſet* oppos'd his Advancement to that Office, and during the Heat of the Cabals for and againſt him, *Paris* and all the chief Towns in the Inland Provinces of *France*, were recover'd by the *French King*; the Mi-niſtry in *England* being more ſollicitous how to ſecure themſelves and promote their Friends, than how to preſerve their Conqueſts, and reduce the Power of that Prince, the moſt inveterate Enemy to the *Engliſh*. From theſe Two Heads of Parties aroſe thoſe Confuſions, which, with the loſs of *France*, embroil'd this diſtracted Kingdom in a Civil War of almoſt Fifty Years continuance. The Duke of *York* pretended to a *Divine Right* to the Crown, as deſcended from *Leonel*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* the III. whereas King *Henry* the VI. was Son of *Henry* the V. Son of *Henry* the IV. Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, fourth Son of *Edward* the III. ſo that the Hereditary Right had lain dormant, firſt in *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Lady *Philipa*, Heir to the Duke of *Clarence*; after that in *Anne* his Siſter, marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Father of this Duke of *York*, which *Edmund*, *Richard*, and his Son the Duke had ſworn Allegiance to Three Kings ſucceſſively of the Royal Houſe of *Lancaster*. It is true, *Henry* the VI.



IV. the first of those Kings, came in by a Revolution, *Richard* the II. being depos'd to make room for him. But the *Hereditary Right* of the Earl of *March*, of his Sister *Anne* and Nephew *Richard* was not heard of, while the Kings with the *Revolution Right* and their Ministers were doing such mighty things for the Interest and Glory of *England*, and the reducing of the *French* Power.

What the terrible Effects of *Faction* are will be seen in the sequel of this History. It began with the prevailing Interest of those that preferring the *Jure Divino* Title of the Duke of *York* to a *Revolution*. One in the same Race confirm'd by Forty Years possession, and all the Laws that protected them in their Estates and Liberties, made it a pretence to espouse that Duke's Party, in Opposition to the Duke of *Somerset's*, who being descended from *John* of *Gaunt*, was King *Henry's* Cousin, and had a Claim to the Crown. If the Issue of *Henry* the IV. fail'd, and that of *Margaret*, in whose Right *Henry* the VII. afterwards claim'd and possess'd it, we shall see what use the *Yorkists* made of this Title, and that the Pretences to it have more than once disturb'd the Peace of this unhappy Nation.

So blind were the *English* Councils on the Death of the late Regent, that notwithstanding the Duke's Claim, he was entrusted with the Government of *France*; but out of ill Will to him those that

could

cou'd not hinder his Promotion, so far  
 hinder'd his Dispatch, that the *French* had  
 driven the *English* into the Hereditary  
 Provinces, before he cou'd arrive and  
 make Head against them. The Seat of  
 the Regency was remov'd from *Paris* to  
*Roan*: All that the new Regent did was  
 after a long Siege to recover the Town  
 and Abbey of *Fechamp*, in *Normandy*, which  
 occasion'd the sending over the Duke of  
*Somerset*, who took the Town of *Harfleur*  
 and kept it. The Duke had not then a  
 Commission as Regent, but commanded  
 the Troops on that occasion; People be-  
 ing impatient in *England* to hear daily of  
 Losses in *France*, and the Duke of *Somerset*  
 prevail'd on the Duke of *Gloucester* to send  
 him over to see what he could do towards  
 putting a stop to the *French*. The Duke  
 continu'd in *France* as a General, not a  
 Regent, during the Government of the  
 Earl of *Warwick*, who dying in it, the  
 Duke of *York* pretending still great Alle-  
 giance to King *Henry*, was restor'd to the  
 Regency, which commenc'd with the loss  
 of *Ponthoise*, a very strong Town in the  
 Dutchy of *Normandy*. His Competitor  
 continu'd in his Command in *France*, and  
 made several successful Excursions into  
 the Territories of the *French*; but the War  
 now was reduced to Skirmishes. The  
 Generals in *France* were but ill supply'd;  
 People began to grow weary of it, and the  
 Divisions in *England* had brought Things  
 there into such Distraction, that the Mi-  
 nisters seem'd to forget they had such an  
 Enemy

Enemy as King *Charles*. Endeavours had  
 been us'd to reconcile the Duke of *Glou-*  
*cester* and the Cardinal of *Winchester*, but  
 all in vain; the Duke presented a Memo-  
 rial to the King against the Cardinal, in  
 the 20th Year of his Reign, and the Car-  
 dinal procur'd Persons to prosecute the  
 Duke's belov'd Wife, *Elinor Coleham*, for  
 Sorcery. The Citizens of *London*, who  
 seldom fail of having a share in all Inte-  
 stine Commotions, had great Heats in the  
 Election of their Magistrates; and Sir *Ro-*  
*bert Clapton*, and Sir *Ralph Holland*, being  
 presented by the Common-Hall to the  
 Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for them to  
 chuse one of 'em to be Mayor the ensuing  
 Year, the Commons wou'd have forc'd  
 the latter upon the City, tho' the Lord  
 Mayor and Court of Aldermen had regu-  
 larly declar'd the formér. Every thing  
 being in this Disorder at Home, there was  
 no talk of the *War* Abroad; the Nation's  
 Spirit was funk, and Peace became the  
 only grateful Topick. The Days of the  
 Third *Edward* and the Fifth *Henry* were  
 forgot; nothing minded but the strength-  
 ning of Parties, and enriching their Lea-  
 ders; nothing said of the Title to *France*,  
 and the Cause of a War, which had con-  
 tinu'd Thirty Years. Peace, Peace was  
 the Cry, and a Congress appointed at *Tours*,  
 whither the Court of *England* sent Dr.  
*Adam Moulins*, Privy Seal, *William Earl of*  
*Suffolk*, and others. The Assembly, says a  
 good old Author, was great, but the Cost  
 much greater; insomuch, that every Part for  
 the



the Honour of their Prince, and the Praise of their Country, set forth themselves in Fare as Apparel to the uttermost. Many Meetings were had, and many Things moved for a final Peace; but in conclusion, by reason of many Doubts which arose on both Parties, no full Concord could be agreed upon; but in hope to come to a Peace, a certain Truce, as well by Sea as by Land, was concluded by the Commissioners. Of this Dr. Adam Moulins, Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, we read nothing in History, more than that he was a Plenipotentiary for this Treaty, and that he afterwards lost his Head. The Earl of Suffolk was famous in his Day, but chiefly for his Love of Magnificence and Shew. What he did as a Politician, gain'd him but little Credit, nor much what he did as a Soldier. In the Negotiations at Tours it is said, he ventur'd to go beyond his Commission, and gave up part of King Henry's Hereditary Dominions in France for a Truce, and a Match with a Princess not worth a Farthing. But the French Ministers having taken Advantage of his Vanity and Boldness, or as *Holinshed* says, corrupting him with Bribes, got him to conclude the most scandalous Treaty that ever the Crown of England had ratify'd. For as to the Match, his Master had before been contracted to the Earl of *Armagnac's* Daughter, the greatest Fortune in Europe; and the Duke of Gloucester, who was a Man of Virtue, abhorr'd the concluding of a Treaty so much to the Dishonour of the King and Kingdom, it being a Breach of another



concluded before by Sir Robert Roß, one of the Plenipotentiaries also at the Treaty of Tours: But neither he nor Doctor Moulius knew any thing of their Collegue, the Earl's Secret Negotiations with France. The French Court extreamly well pleas'd that they had so bubbled us, immediately dispatch'd a pompous Embassy to England, to secure to them the Execution of this hateful Contract; and the Count de Vendosme, and the Archbishop of Rheims, the first Peer of France, came Ambassadors for that purpose, returning, says the Chronicle, into their Countries with great Gifts and Rewards. The Earl, who had transacted this hopeful Business, was made a Marquis, and sent to France, as honest Holinshed informs us, with his Wife and many Honourable Personages, Men and Women, richly adorn'd both with Apparel and Jewels, having with them costly Charriots and gorgeous Horse-litters. Upon the concluding this Treaty, a Parliament was holden, in which the Marquis of Suffolk, who was return'd from his Embassy in France, being sure of a Majority in both the House of Lords and House of Commons, first made a Speech to the Peers, to set forth the Pains and Trouble he had been in his Embassies, and to desire that they might be justify'd by Parliament. He went also to the House of Commons, and made a Speech there to the same purpose; the Consequence of which was in the Words of an old Historian, "That the next Day after the Speaker, William Burghlie, and the Com-

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pally

‘ pany of the Lower House, repaired unto  
 ‘ the King’s Presence, sitting among the  
 ‘ Lords of the Upper House, and they  
 ‘ humbly required that the Request of  
 ‘ the Marquis might be granted: And so  
 ‘ likewise the Lords made the like Peti-  
 ‘ tion, kneeling to the King, insomuch,  
 ‘ that the King condescended to their De-  
 ‘ sires; so the Labours, Demeanours, Di-  
 ‘ ligencies, and Declarations of the said  
 ‘ Marquis, together with the Desires not  
 ‘ only of the Lords, but also of the Com-  
 ‘ mons, as well for the Honour of him  
 ‘ and his Posterity, as for his Acquital and  
 ‘ Discharge, were enacted and enroll’d in  
 ‘ the Records of Parliament.” But how  
 much the safer he was for this Acquital  
 and Discharge, and what Honour has ac-  
 cru’d to his Posterity, the History of this  
 and the following Reigns sufficiently shews  
 us. The Marquis growing daily in the  
 favour of the Queen, there was hardly  
 any thing done without his Approbation.  
 The Duke of *Somerset* thought fit to court  
 him, and the Duke of *Gloucester* was neg-  
 lected because he scorn’d it.

It was by his means that the Duke of  
*York* was remov’d from the Regency of  
*France*, before the Term of his Patent was  
 expir’d, and the Duke of *Somerset* made  
 Regent in his Place; which exasperated the  
 former so much, and with him so many  
 who were his Friends, that from that time  
 he form’d Ambitious Designs against the  
 Authority of his Sovereign: One of the  
 first things the Marquis did, to Establish  
 him-

himself, was, to procure great Matches for his Family, as the Garter, and the Earldom of *Kendal*, for the Count *de Longuevilles*'s Son, only because he had marry'd his Neice. He also got for himself the Wardship of the Body and Lands, of one of the greatest Fortunes in *England*, the Lady *Margaret* Mother of *Henry* the VII beforemention'd. The Man whom most he fear'd was the Duke of *Gloucester* who being Uncle to the King, and a Man of as great Virtue as Quality, he was afraid of being one time or other call'd to an Account by him, tho' now every thing went as he would have it; but notwithstanding he form'd several Accusations against him, the Duke clear'd himself fully of all of them; and when he and his Faction could not take him off by Law they made him away secretly at *St. Edmundsbury*, giving out he dy'd of the Palsy. His chief Servants were Imprison'd, Try'd and Condemn'd for High Treason; but the Marquis fearing the rage of the Populace, carry'd himself a Pardon to *Tyburn* for them, just as they were about to be Drawn and Quarter'd. The King all this while abandon'd himself to the Management of his Queen and her Minion, who tho' of an ordinary Family, yet could not be content with the Titles of Earl and Marquis, but must have that of Duke also. It has been observ'd that where a Man has had Emnient Merit, he has avoided Splendid Titles, as esteeming the Lustre of his own Worth above all other marks of Distinction, false Merit differs in this as



well as every thing else from the True, and seeks Distinction in Names and Honours, which are in truth a Disgrace to such as possess and do not deserve them. As high Titles are apt to create Envy, those who have been truly Wise have never been hasty to acquire them. No sooner had the Queen got the King into her Custody, but her Favourite was created Duke of *Suffolk*; which gave a general Disgust: This the Duke of *York* knew how to improve to the strengthening his own Party and Interest. The Affairs Abroad ran every where to Ruin; this Party at Home having nothing in their Heads but how to undo all that had been done by the Revolution, in favour of the House of *Lancaster*, and to restore the *Hereditary Right*. Tho' the Duke of *Somerset* Regent in *France* was a Man of Courage, yet the *English* were so dispirited by the Factions in *England* and the little Care taken to support him, that the *French* breaking the Suspension of Arms, easily drove them from the Continent. This shame and loss was owing to the Fatal Truce agreed upon at *Tours*, which gave the *English* an appearance of Peace, that hindered them from minding the War, while the *French* made use of it only to surprize and assault their Towns. Thus they made themselves Masters of *Pont de L'Arche* the Key of *Normandy*, of *Bayeux*, *Cherbury*, *Verneuil*, and several other Towns and Castles. The two Parties in *England* being taken up with more important Affairs than that of preserving their Conquests and Barrier: They were busy'd in

in providing Posts for their Partisans, and inventing Lyes and Scandal to blacken each other to the Publick. I shall here give the Reader the most natural Image of this Melancholly Scene as I find it in an Ancient Historian, *Thus, says he, was the War renewed before the Term of Truce fully expired, and the English Captains brought to their Wits end, what with appeasing daily rumours within the Towns, and what with Study how to recover Castles lost and taken; for while they Study'd how to keep and defend one Place, four or five others returned to the French Port. The chief cause of which Revolting was that it was blown abroad through France, how the Realm of England after the Death of the Duke of Gloucester the several Factions, was divided into two Parts; and that William de la Poole vexed and oppressed the Poor People, so that Mens Minds were Intemive to outward Affairs, all their Study given to keep off Wrongs offerd at home.*

The Irish who were very fond of the Duke of York, on the score of his Relation to them from the House of Ulster, into which Lionel Duke of Clarence marry'd, observing the Rage of the two Parties in England took hold of that opportunity to Rebel, and the Ministers could not think of a properer Man to send to Command in Ireland than that Duke, who indeed outwardly appeas'd the Commotions there; while privately he engag'd that Nation in his Interest, and they always sided with him, and his House being so Zealous for the *Hereditary Right*, That they put the Crown on the Head of one Pretender, and own'd  
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and receiv'd another for their King, in opposition to the Revolutionary Title of the House of Lancaster. The Enemies to *Revolutions* having been fonder of *Impostors* than any other People; tho' those *Revolutions* were of the last necessity which can only justify them. My old Chronicler goes on. The French Men having perfect understanding of the unreadiness of the Realm of England display'd their Banners, and set forth their Armies, and in short space got (by yielding) Constance, Gisors, Chatteau Galliard, Ponthieu de Mer, St Lo, Festamp, Neufchatteau, Tonque, Moleon, Argenton, Lisieux, and divers other Towns and Places within the County of Normandy: Likewise in Guyenne was the Town of Mauliflon render'd to the Comte de Foix. These Towns were not yielded voluntarily by the English Soldiers, but they were compelled thereto by the Inhabitants of the Towns, who having Intelligence of the feeble State of the Realm of England, rose against the Captains, opened the Gates to the Enemies, or constrained them to surrender upon Composition: By which Inforcement was the rich City of Roan deliver'd; for surely the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Shrewsbury had well kept that City, if they had been no more vexed with the Citizens than they were with the Enemies. I shall not enter into the particulars of the loss of Harfleur, Caen, and in a word all Normandy in a Years time, nor of the Quarrels between the Duke of Somerset and Sir David Hall, whom the Duke of York had left as Governor of Caen, which Town he call'd his own; 'tis enough to tell



tell the cause of this Disgrace in France; and my Author says it was this: *The chief and only Cause undoubtedly was the Division within the Realm, every Great Man desiring rather to be revenged on his Foe at Home, than on the Common Enemy Abroad. These are the very Words of Old Holinshed, and are well worth the Remembrance of every English Reader. He proceeds, For while the French thus triumphed in Normandy, Three Cruel Enemies among many (as by Civil War and Sedition ensuing appear'd) sore urged the utter Ruin of this Realm at Home; one was Presumption in Governance, by some that were most unmeet to Rule, as the Queen with her Privy Counsellors and Ministers, then the deadly Malice and Pride, with insatiable Covetise in the States, both Spiritual and Temporal; and lastly, the general Grudge of the People for the universal Smart that through the Misgovernment every where suffered.*

We cannot forget with what Glory the D. of Suffolk came off for his Treaty of Tours; how he had the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and how those Thanks were inroll'd; but we then reflected on the sandy Foundation of such Partial Applause, expecting that he wou'd one time or other severely Account for these unhappy Negotiations. That time too long indeed deferred, is now come Five Years afterwards. The Clamour against him was universal; the Commons perceiving, says the Chronicle, how (through want of Provident Wisdom in the Governor) all things went to Wrack, as well within the Realm as without.

*They began to make Exclamations against the Duke of Suffolk, charging him to be the only Cause of the Delivery of Anjou and Maine; the chief Procurer of the Duke of Gloucester's Death; the very occasion of the loss of Normandy; the Swallower up of the King's Treasure; the REMOVER of GOOD AND VIRTUOUS COUNSELLORS from about the Prince, and the ADVANCER of VICIOUS PERSONS; and of such as by their DOINGS shew'd themselves apparent ADVERSARIES to the COMMON-WEALTH.*

*In such Circumstances stood this Favourite, this Minister, this Plenipotentiary, for whom the Speaker of the House of Commons made in Person a Speech. When the Parliament, which for fear of what wou'd follow, had been adjourn'd from Time to Time, and Place to Place, met at Westminster in the Year 1450. where the Appearance was Full, as is particularly taken notice of in History, to shew that Faction had no Hand in the Sense of the Nation there deliver'd, no sooner were they met, but this Minion and Minister was impeach'd of High Treason, and Ten Articles prefer'd against him, of which I shall only mention the following, as the Second.*

*By which he is charg'd with having caus'd the King to set the Duke of Orleans, who was Prisoner in England, at Liberty.*

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## The Fourth.

*That being Ambassador for the King of England, he had given up Anjou and Maine to the French King.*

To this he pleaded,

- ‘ That his Commifion was to conclude
- ‘ and do all Things according to his
- ‘ Difcretion, for the obtaining of a
- ‘ Peace, and that he could not have
- ‘ had a Suspension of Arms without
- ‘ giving up thofe Countries.

## The Fifth and Sixth.

*That he betray'd the King's Councils to the French Court when he was in France, and to the French Ambassadors when they were in England.*

## The Eighth and Ninth.

*That he faid openly in the Star Chamber, He had as high a Place in the Council House of the French King as he had there, and was as well trusted there as here, and that he receiv'd Bribes from France, to hinder the carrying on of the War.*

## The Tenth.

*Item, The faid Duke being Ambassador for the King, comprifed not in the League (as the King's Allies) neither the King of Arragon, nor the Duke of Bretagne, by reason whereof the old Amity of the King of Arragon is eſtranged from this Realm, and the Duke of Bretagne become Enemy to the ſame.*

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The King of *Arragon* had been one of the best Friends to *England*, and zealous for the Common Cause; but it seems this Plenipotentiary thought fit to shut him out of the Treaty, and to exclude the Duke of *Bretagne* also, whose Brother for his Friendship to the *English* was thrown into Prison in *France*, and there perish'd. Other Crimes were also laid to his Charge, as his enriching himself with the King's Goods and Lands; his Menopolizing Offices, his exalting his Kindred, and the like. The Duke had nothing material to say in his Justification. The Roll where the Thanks that had been given him were register'd, was not so much as produc'd in his Vindication. The Court finding they could not safely let him go unpunish'd, sent him to the Tower for a Colour; but a Month after let him out, and he appear'd again in full Favour and Power, at which the People were so enrag'd, that they rose in *Kent* under a Leader, whom they call'd Captain *Blenn-beard*. 'Tis true that Commotion was quell'd before much Mischief was done a few Fellows were hang'd, and the Matter hush'd up; but the Seeds of the Tumult remaining, fresh Disturbances were fear'd, to prevent which the Parliament that had been adjourn'd were suffer'd to meet, tho' not at the same Place, *Leicester* being appointed for the next Session, in hopes the distance would keep many Members at Home, and the Court by that and other means secure a Majority. But they were out in their Foresight as much as in their

their Politicks; for the House of Commons reviv'd their Impeachment, and address'd the King, that all those who had been any ways accessary to the Treaty of *Tours*, by which *Anjou* and *Maine* were given up to the *French*, be duly punished. The Ferment was so strong, it was impossible for them to stand it without some Convulsion in the State, unless the Guilty suffer'd. The Lord Treasurer, Sir *James Fiennes*, was turn'd out, as were all the Duke of *Suffolk's* Friends, and himself banish'd, says *Holinshed*, as the abhorr'd Toad and common Nuzance of the whole Realm. But the Term of his Exile was very moderate Five Years only, in hopes that during that space the hatred of the People might abate, and he be recall'd. So Inveterate were the whole Nation in their Enmity to this Favourite, that a Ship belonging to the Duke of *Exeter* meeting that where the Duke was embark'd, intending to sail to *France*, the Commander of the Duke of *Exeter's* Ship attack'd the other, and seeing the Duke of *Suffolk* there, took the Ship, carry'd her to *Dover Road*, and there order'd the Duke's Head to be chop'd off on the Boats side. All this while the Duke of *Tork's* Faction had been inculcating the Right he had by Inheritance to the Crown, and instilling Principles of Rebellion into the People's Minds, because the present Reign and the two former were no better than *Usurpations*, being founded on a *Revolution* and the deposing King *Richard the II.* These Principles prevail'd mightily

among the Rabble, but did not break out into Rebellion till about the time of the Duke of *Suffolk's* Death, when a mean Wretch, one *John Cade* an *Irishman*, assum'd the Name of *Mortimer*, and rais'd a Rebellion in *Kent*. This *Mortimer* pretended to set up for a Reformer of the State, and was therefore call'd Captain *Mend-all*. When he had got a Crew together, he assur'd them he would get the Taxes lessen'd, and Evil Councillors remov'd. The Rabble in *London* favour'd this pretended *Mortimer* so far, that he lay at *Black Heath* a Month pilaging the Country round about. He sent a Petition to the King, complaining of Grants, Debts, and the like, and to require such and such Lords to be admitted to Offices. This Rebellion was thought to be privately set on Foot by the Friends to the Duke of *York*, to try the Disposition of the People in his behalf; for the Rebels spoke very kindly of him in their Declaration. Be it as it will, after two or three Skirmishes, *Cade* was forc'd to quit *Southwark*, where he had taken up his Quarters, and his Followers accepting of a Pardon brought them by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he fled to *Suffex*, where, making Resistance, he was kill'd. The Rabble rose in other Places, particularly in *Wiltshire*, where they kill'd the Bishop of *Salisbury*, dragging him from the Altar to the top of an Hill, where they flew him, stript him, and tearing his Bloody Shirt to pieces, divided it among them. During these Distractions, the

*French*



*French King*, who had help'd us to a Truce and a Queen, invaded *Aquitaine*, and expell'd the *English*, because, says the good old Chronicle, *the devilish Division that reigned in England, so incumbred the Heads of Noblemen there, that the Honour of the Realm was clearly forgotten.* Those Lords of *Guyenne* who had been faithful to the *English* Interest, were forc'd to quit their own Country, and seek Protection in *England*, or the *Pale* in *Picardy*, where, of all our Acquisitions in *France*, only *Calais*, *Hammes*, and *Guifnes* remain'd in the Possession of the *English*, we being outed of every Place else in Seven Years after the conclusion of the Treaty of *Tours*, and within Two after the Suspension of Arms expir'd, which, when in being, was kept as the *French* have in all Ages kept their Treaties.

The loss of *France* facilitated the execution of the Duke of *York's* Designs, who coming out of *Ireland*, had several Conferences with the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord's *Courtney* and *Brooke*, to consult of the means for his effectually asserting his *Hereditary Right*. These Lords resolv'd that an Army should be rais'd under pretence of removing Evil Counsellors, aiming particularly at the Duke of *Somerset*, who having been ill supply'd when Regent of *Normandy*, lost that Dutchy. The first Place that the *English* appear'd in Arms in to recover the Crown for the Duke of *York*, was in the Marshes of *Wales*, where the *Mortimers* had large Possessions, now descended to him, and the Borderers  
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for their sake follow'd him. The Duke marching Eastward, pass'd the *Thames* at *Hampton*, and encamp'd at *Burnt Heath* near *Dartford* in *Kent*, hoping to be joyn'd by all the pretended *Mortimer's* Followers and Friends. The King, who was a very indifferent Heroe, pitch'd his Tents on *Black Heath*, and sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely* to demand the Reason of his Approach in that hostile manner. The Duke reply'd, that he meant no harm to the King's Honour or Person, but his Intent was to remove *Evil Councillors, Blood-suckers of the Nobility, and Pollers of the Clergy*. For tho' this Duke had been the occasion of the Murther of the Bishop of *Chester*, he affected now an extraordinary Concern for *Church-Men*, in hopes of their assistance in his Attempt to dethrone King *Henry*, because he was King on a *Revolution* Bottom. But, it seems, the Men of *Kent* did not come in to him, as he expected, and King *Henry's* Army being encreas'd to thrice the number of his, he submitted by the Mediation of some Lords, and swore solemnly in *St. Pauls Church* to be True and Faithful to King *Henry* to his Lives end. The Duke of *Somerset*, who to forward this Reconciliation had been confin'd, was set at Liberty, and they accus'd each other of High Treason; but tho' the Duke of *York* had been actually in Rebellion, such was his Interest in the Nobility, that he was dismiss'd, and retir'd to his Castle of *Wigmore*. The Duke of *Somerset* by his Absence having the sole Management

nagement of Affairs, for which neither  
 the King nor the Queen were sufficiently  
 qualify'd; and the Duke of York took  
 Care to spread it among the People, to  
 render the Government odious. He also  
 engag'd the Earl of *Salisbury*, his Son the  
 Earl of *Warwick*, and the *Nevil* Family,  
 into which he had marry'd, the Lord *Cob-*  
*ham* and others, in his Interests; and ha-  
 ving obtain'd Absolution of the Pope for  
 breaking his Oath, lately sworn to King  
*Henry*, he again took Arms in the same  
 Marshes of *Wales*, and gave Battel to the  
 King, in which the Duke of *Somerſet* was  
 Slain, and the King's Army routed on the  
 23d of *May*, 1455. which oblig'd King  
*Henry* to put himself in the Duke of York's  
 Hands, who contenting himself at present  
 with the Title of Protector, assum'd the  
 Administration, and his two Friends the  
 Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* were made  
 Chancellor and General. They got a Par-  
 liament to their own liking, who pass'd  
 an Act to make it Criminal to say, *Their*  
*taking Arms against King Henry was not for*  
*the safety of his Person*: And to revenge  
 themselves on the opposite Party, they  
 got an Act of Resumption of all Honours,  
 Castles, Lordships, Towns, Villages, Man-  
 nors, Lands, &c. granted by King *Henry*  
 to any manner of Person whatsoever, from  
 the first Year of his Reign. They would  
 not go farther back, because themselves  
 and their Friends would have been touch'd  
 by it; and to secure what they had got  
 from the Crown, there were necessary Ex-  
 ceptions



ceptions and Provisoos incerted in this A&A. They did not stop here, they shifted Hands all over *England*, as my Author has it in his Antique Phrase, *All such Persons as the King favour'd were put beside the Privy Council, such put in their Places as were known to favour the Duke of York; also the Officers were changed throughout the Realm, at the Will and Disposition of the Chancellor, &c.* But this Change was of very short Duration. These Ministers did not keep their Places a Twelvemonth, nor was it likely that Power acquir'd by Tumult should have a solid and lasting Foundation. The King, says Echard, was now in a very declining Condition, and the Queen so suspicious, that she wou'd only trust those, who being injur'd, were to run the like Fortune with her Husband: Yet the Respect due to the King was not so much diminish'd, nor his Majesty so much darkned, but the young Duke of Somerset and other Lords resolved no longer to endure the Injury done him, and to quit themselves of the Imminent Danger that threatned them; for every Man now saw the Duke of York's Design to the Usurpation of his Crown, and that his Delays proceeded from Apprehensions and Danger, &c. Pursuant to these Resolutions, those Lords caus'd a great Council to be held at *Greenwich*, by whom the Duke of York was discharg'd of his Protectorship, and the Seals were taken from the Earl of *Salisbury*. The Rabble was on their side, and the Mob rose in *London* against the Foreigners, who were robb'd and plunder'd by them. The Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* were sent to appease those

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these Commotions, but when they attempted to bring the Offenders to Justice, they were themselves insulted, and forc'd to leave *Guild-Hall*.

We have seen what were the dismal Effects of our abandoning our Conquests Abroad, delivering up Prisoners to the *French*, and making a scandalous Peace with them, as was done at the Treaty of *Tours*. I make no doubt but those who cry'd up that Peace, talk'd much in Praise of the Security it brought us. *England* now, says the Historian I mention'd last, *was like a Body oppress'd by a general Distillation, Malignant Humours dispers'd themselves in every Part, and the Vital Faculties, the Laws, had not force enough to repel them; for while one Party endeavour'd to destroy the other, all Care of the Common-Wealth was laid aside, and Justice and Equity clearly banish'd the Realm.* The *French* who by the Treaty of *Tours* had so lately reviv'd the *Ancient Amity between the Two Nations*, lost no opportunity to make their Advantage of our Divisions, and notwithstanding that Treaty so lately sworn to, they sent one Squadron of Men of War, commanded by the *Seigneur de Pomiers*, to insult the Western Coasts of *England*, and another under the Command of the *Chevalier Bressie*, to do the same by the Eastern. The latter rode in the *Downs*, and intercepted the Commerce of the City of *London*: Not satisfy'd with this, he landed his Men, and possess'd himself of *Sandwich*, which he kept some time; and then having pillag'd, left it. The *Seigneur de Pomiers* plunder'd

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and burnt several Villages on the Western Coasts, and with his Booty return'd to *Bretagne*. Good God! Are these the same People that a few Years before were Masters of *France*? Are the Invaders the same People who were then flying every where before them? Is it the Conquerors who are now frightened and rifled by an Enemy they had vanquish'd, and do the *English* fear for themselves in their own Houses the Ruin their just Arms brought on their Invaders in *France*? To what terrible Convulsions in the State must such a Reverse of Fate be owing? To what Discord, to what Frenzy? Is this the Fruits of the Peace for which the Ambassador was thank'd in Parliament? Unhappy *England*, who hadst it in thy Power to have destroy'd that of *France* for ever, and art now afraid of an Enemy that was become thy Contempt. Where was the *Roman Atticus* that had Virtue enough to be esteem'd and belov'd alike by both Parties, to mediate between and Reconcile them? Alas! there was no Virtue, no Renown among them; the sordid Lust of Money and the base Passion of Envy, had suppress'd the true *English*, the true *Roman* Spirit which had exerted itself so vigorously and successfully in the last *French* War. There was indeed a mock Reconciliation, which came from the Person who was most concern'd to effect it, both in Honour and Interest, from the Sovereign, who had hitherto too much neglected it. The King was much displeas'd at the Proceedings of the Queen and her Minions, who

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not content with turning the Duke of York and his Friends out of their Places, would have seiz'd them at *Coventry*, to have accomplish'd their Destruction by Fraud, had it not been prevented by a Discovery of her Design to those Lords; which, continues my Author, being contrary to his Pious Inclinations, he held a Grand Council at *London*, where having stated the Condition of the Kingdom, he shew'd, *That the late Divisions had encourag'd both the Scots and the French to assault him at Home, and therefore a Reconciliation was necessary, which if the Failings of particular Men, and those of his own Family, were likely to obstruct, he would do his endeavour to have all Obstructions removed.* The Duke of York and the Lords of his Party were lodg'd in the City and assembled at *Black Fryers*, the Lords of the other at *Westminster*, and met in the *Chapter House*. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was very industrious in this Accommodation, and at last brought both Parties to a Conference; in which Articles of Agreement were concluded. The first of them being, that the Duke of York and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* should settle a yearly Revenue on the Monks of *St. Albans*, to pray for the Souls of the Duke of *Somerset* and the other Lords that were Slain in the Battle fought there. Upon which *Holinshed* observes, *The Clergy were sure in those Days to lose nothing.* Indeed they were first provided for by these Articles of Accommodation, which shews, that they were courted by both Parties. Several other

Articles were agreed upon, about Damages Discords, Debates, and the like, which not being so material, I shall omit: But we may find by these Debates and Discords that Scandal is not so new a Thing as some would make it. The Rejoycings for this Reconciliation were extraordinary among all good *English-men*, who in great Multitudes throng'd to see the Procession that was made when it was publish'd; the King assisted at it in Person, walking with his Crown and Royal Robes to *St. Paul's Cathedral*, preceded by the Lords of both sides Hand in Hand,

As the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Salisbury*,  
The Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick*;  
Then other Lords in the same Friendly Order,  
Then the KING himself;  
The Duke of *York* leading the QUEEN.

But this Accommodation was all appearance. It is a good *Spanish Proverb*, *I can never forgive a Man I have injur'd*. The King is highly injur'd in his Authority, in his Dignity, and with him all his Friends. The Duke of *York* and his Followers know who it was that had done the Injury, and therefore kept in their Minds those Embers that wanted Air only to be fan'd into a Flame, says *Echard*. The Duke of *York* only seem'd to lay aside his Pretences, because he presum'd the Time incommodious, and before this very Meeting broke up, it appear'd that the Agreement came not from the Heart, which

which remain'd full of Rancour and En-  
 mity. One of the Earl of *Warwicks* Ser-  
 vants having assaulted one of the Kings,  
 the Earl himself with great Difficulty  
 escap'd in a Barge and got over to *Calais*,  
 of which Place he was Governour and re-  
 fus'd to surrender it to the Young  
 Duke of *Somerset*, whom the King had  
 appointed his Successor. In the mean  
 while, the Duke of *York* and the Earl of  
*Salisbury* pretending the Tumult was made  
 by the King's Servants, and with a Design  
 to destroy him, took Arms, the latter  
 in the *North*, and the former in the  
 Marches of *Wales*, whither came the  
 Earl of *Warwick* from *Calais*, and brought  
 with him Two Famous Captains, *Andrew*  
*Trollop* and *John Blunt*, with some of the  
 Old Soldiers who had serv'd in the *French*  
 Wars. These the Earl of *Warwick* had  
 engag'd to come with him, pretending  
 the King and Kingdom were govern'd by a  
 Junto of evil Councillors, and that what  
 the Duke of *York* did, was only for the  
 Kings Preservation, and to deliver him  
 out of their Hands: The Two Command-  
 ers who had long receiv'd the Kings  
 Pay and done him signal Services, thought  
 this Enterprize to be one, and came  
 chearfully with the Earl, but finding the  
 King was coming against the Duke with  
 a Royal Army, that all the *Yorkists* had re-  
 presented to them was Malice and Fiction,  
 they conceiv'd an Abhorrence of their  
 Actions, and resolv'd to take the first Op-  
 portunity to abandon them, and present  
 them-



themselves to the King, which they did in the Night, the Duke of York intending to fight his Army the next Day. This Intention of his and the manner of executing it being by this means discover'd, it broke all the Measures of the Yorkists, the Duke fled to *Ireland*, the Earl of *March*, his Son, and the Earl of *Warwick* to *Calais*, leaving King *Henry* as much Master of the Kingdom as a King of his Weakness and Bigotry cou'd be. *Ludlow* was plunder'd, the Dutcheß of *York* who was taken in the Town committed to safe Custody and a Parliament held at *Coventry*, in which were attainted of High Treason, the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *March* his Son, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Powis*, *Thomas Cook*, *John Conners*, and others who, attainted as they were, found means afterwards to revenge themselves severely on all that oppos'd them; but all the while they pretended only a Zeal for the Publick Welfare, and to redress the Grievances of the Clergy. For the *Yorkists* gave out that the Church was in Danger; when it was very well known the best Friend to it was the King. The Earls at *Calais* having consulted the Duke of *York* in *Ireland*, whether the active Earl of *Warwick* had sail'd to that purpose, and return'd to his Government, sent a Letter to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, containing Twelve Articles of Grievances which they desir'd might be redress'd, the First being the great Oppression, Extortion, Robbery, and other Violences

ces done to Gods Church and to his Mini-  
 sters thereof. They then set forth the Poverty  
 and Misery of the Nation. The Exorbitant  
 Grants of Crown Lands, the Governments being  
 in the Hands of a Party, the Taxes with which  
 the People were burthen'd, the rudeness of the  
 Ministers to the Kings Person, and other  
 Heads of Complaints, such as were most  
 likely to encrease their Interest and ac-  
 complish their Ends. The Earl of Wilt-  
 shire, one of the Lords complain'd  
 of in the Letter, fearing their Rage  
 and the Kings Imbecillity, fled to Hol-  
 land. The attainted Lords at Calais  
 kept Correspondence with the People of  
 Kent, Sussex, Essex, and other Counties. nor  
 wanted they Emissaries and Friends in  
 the City of London to prepare Things a-  
 gainst their Coming. Faction, that always  
 deals in Calumny even in those old rude  
 Times dealt in Invectives. The Yorkists  
 did not spare their Enemies as far as their  
 Wit could hurt them ; but we may see  
 that Wit was not on their side, by the  
 beginning of one of their Ballads fix'd  
 on the Gates of Canterbury, *In the Day of  
 Fast and Spiritual Affliction the Celestial Influ-  
 ence of Bodies Transitory, &c.* which I re-  
 peat to shew how lovingly Faction and  
 Nonsense have gone Hand in Hand for  
 these Two or Three Hundred Years, and  
 that the Enemies to the True Peace of  
 these Kingdoms, have had the good For-  
 tune in all Ages to get the better of their  
 Opponents, even by Dulness and Ignorance.  
 These worthy Patriots who seem'd to have  
 nothing

nothing at Heart but the reforming Abuses in the State, while in truth nothing was there but Envy, Avarice and Ambition, pretended still to be Loyal; and to conceal their Traiterous Purposes, took all the Oaths that were offer'd them. How often did the D. of York Swear to be a True Liegeman to King Henry: Nay, when the Earls of *March* and *Warwick* with their Followers landed from *Calais* in *Kent*, the Earl of *Warwick* publicly took an Oath upon the Cross at *Canterbury*, *That they had ever born true Faith and Allegiance to King Henry*, notwithstanding they had fought the Battles of *St. Albans* and *Blore Heath* against him, and were now come to fight for his Kingdom, such, as the Historian *Eachard* writes, *was the distracted State of miserable England, through the Pride and restless Ambition of one or two Presumptuous Men*. I shall not enlarge on the Military Exploits of either side in this Bloody Intestine War; *London* yielded to the Earl of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the *Yorkists*. The Queen got an Army together at *Northampton*, and thither march'd the Earl of *Warwick*, where on the Ninth of July 1460. was fought a most obstinate Battle of above Five Hours length, Victory being doubtful, till the Lord *Ruthen* betray'd the Post the King's Party entrusted him with, and gave the Enemy entrance into their Camp, which ended in the entire Defeat of the Royal Army, and the Slaughter of Ten Thousand Men besides those that fell on the side of the Earl of *Warwick*.

These



These were the fatal Effects of the discord that had been prevailing above Thirty Years in *England*. These the Consequences of their quitting the War with *France*; these the Fruits of the hated and ruinous Treaty of *Tours*. The Scene is chang'd, the Days of rejoycing for Foreign Victory is over; Victory now is bought at the Price of the best Blood in *England*; 'tis now no more *English* against *French*, 'tis Father against Son, Brother against Brother, 'tis Confusion and Murder instead of Right and Justice. The Victors being return'd to London, says Eachard, inflicted such Punishments as usually attend the Injustice of Civil Wars. They struck off the Head of Baron Thorp of the *Exchequer*; the Lord Scales endeavouring to take Sanctuary at *Westminster*, was murder'd by the Earl of *Warwick's* Waterman. His Body strip'd and left to the Publick View of all Men. The D. of *York*, who had taken so many Solemn Oaths of Allegiance to *K. Henry*, comes now to give an Instance of the dependance that is to be made on the Oaths of Men of *Jure Divine* Principles. He left *Ireland* as soon as he heard of his Son's Success, enter'd London as a King and Conqueror, broke open the Doors of the Pallace, took his Lodgings in the best Apartment, and seated himself on the Throne, to the great Astonishment of those who thought he aim'd only at redressing of *Grievances*, and joyn'd with him as the Head of the *Country Party*: But he openly laid Claim to the Crown, and being ask'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,

bury, whether he wou'd visit the King who was his Prisoner; he reply'd in Answer, *He knew none in the Kingdom to whom he ow'd that Duty, but on the contrary all Men ow'd it to him.* We have already hinted that the Hereditary Right had lain latent in the Houses of *March* and *York* during the Reigns of the Princes of the House of *Lancaster*, who had sat on the Throne Threescore Years. Wou'd one not think a Government of so long duration, as solidly founded as any Humane Constitution cou'd be? A Government render'd Illustrious by so many Foreign Conquests, and conform'd by so many Parliaments. In a word, a Government for which the Friends to the House of *Lancaster* had these Reasons to confirm it, That *Henry IV.* was admitted to the Throne by consent of the Three Estates of the Realm; that *Richard Earl of Cambridge*, and his Son *Richard Duke of York* were both attainted, that the latter had solemnly Sworn Fidelity to *Henry IV.* his lawful Sovereign, that there were several Acts of Parliament to establish the Line of *Lancaster*, that there was the Succession of Three Kings whose Reign contain'd no less than Sixty Years. To all which they add the Merits of the Kings of the *Lancastrian* Line, as the Politics of *Henry IV.* the Conquests of *Henry V.* and the Piety of *Henry VI.* The Friends to the House of *York* had nothing to reply but that the Rights of Blood are not to be alter'd by Civil Powers. They argu'd abstractedly, says *Echard*, and Reason was forc'd to submit to Power. For that Argument as

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well as others has no weight without it where a Kingdom is in Question. Last Year this Duke of York, who now so arrogantly claims the Crown, was a Traytor, now Henry IV. an Usurper, and he has the presumption to call him so in Parliament. It is Remarkable that the Yorkists gave out, that all the Miseries which had befallen this Nation were Punishment for the Wicked Usurpation of the three *Lancastrian* Kings. The Duke of York in the Speech he made in Parliament, when he put in his Claim, having these Expressions, that he did not so much mind his own private Emolument and peculiar Profit as to restore Peace, Love and Quietness to this our natural region, which ever since the first ungodly Usurpation of the aforesam'd Henry, untruly called King Henry the Fourth, hath been clearly banished and out of the same unjustly exil'd. The Disturber of the Kingdom's Peace charges all the Disturbances on the Revolution which happen'd Threescore Years before. This way of arguing is not unknown to us, but pray God it may never be in the Power of any Prince of this Duke's Principles and Practices to act again the same Violence and sanctify it with the Denomination of *Right Divine*. The Parliament then under the force of a Military Ministry, cou'd not be brought to lay King Henry quite aside; but they were prevail'd on to consent that he shou'd only have the Name of King for his Life, and the Duke of York to have the Authority as Protector; as also to be declar'd Heir apparent to the Crown,



which was done, and the Duke swore once more never to make any Attempt against the Person of King *Henry's* Life or Liberty. All the Acts of the Parliament held at *Coventry* were repeal'd at once, and it will not be improper to give the reasons of it, as we find it in *Holinshed*, with the Character of that *Coventry* Parliament. It was, says he, declared to be a devilish Council, and only had for the Destruction of the Nobility, and was indeed no lawful Parliament, because they which were returned were never elected according to the due order of the Law, but secretly named by them which desired rather the Destruction than the Advancement of the Common-wealth. The Duke of York did not long enjoy this new Dignity, for two Months afterwards he was slain in the Battle of *Wakefield*, fought by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* against him, and the Earl of *Salisbury* who lost his Head at *Tork*. This, says *Echard*, was the fatal end of the famous *Richard*, who contrary to all Oaths and other Obligations had caused Infinite mischiefs to the English Nation, of whom it was said by the Duke of *Somerset* his former Antagonist, that if he had not learn'd to Play the King by his Regency in *France*, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject in *England*. There were about 3000 kill'd in this Fight, and about 4000 in that of *Mortimers Cross* fought a Month afterwards, in which *Owen Tudor* was taken and his Head struck off at *Hereford*. A Fortnight after that another Battle was fought at *St. Albans*, the Queen's Army commanded by the Two Dukes beforemention'd; the *Yorkists*, with whom

whom was King *Henry* in Person by the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*. The Queen was as successful here as she had been at *Wakefield*, routed her Enemies and set her Husband at Liberty, with the loss of about 3000 Men on both sides; but her Army being compos'd of *Northern Men*, who came more for the Love of the Plunder than of her Cause; their Pillages lost her the Hearts of the People, while the Earl of *March* won upon them by his Complacency and Gallantry.

The *Londoners* refus'd to supply her with Provisions, and she was forc'd to retreat Northward; for the Earl of *Warwick* having joyn'd the Earl of *March* with the Remains of his Army, after his Defeat at *St Albans*, they both march'd directly to *London*, and was receiv'd there with great Joy. The Queen having by some Acts of Cruelty given too much cause to fear, that she wou'd not have made a very good use of her Success, had it continu'd.

We shall now see how this *Edward*, Earl of *March*, who by the Death of his Father the Duke of *York*, enjoy'd the Hereditary Right to the Crown, behav'd himself on his being in Possession of the Capital of the Kingdom, what Stress he lay on his *Jus Divinum*. We shall find that this Prince was so far from trusting to it, that he dwindled from an Hereditary to Elective Title. I shall take the Relation of it from *Echard*, that I may not be charg'd with misrepresenting the Fact or putting it in a false Light. ' On Sunday  
the

the second of *March* the Earl of *Warwick*,  
 a Zealous Friend to the Earl of *March*,  
 muster'd all his Army in *St Johns Fields*,  
 and having drawn them in a large Ring,  
 and read aloud to them the Agreement  
 of the last Parliament, and then demand-  
 ed, *Whether they would have King Henry*,  
*who had violated that Agreement, to reign*  
*over them*; they all cry'd out, *No, No.*  
 Then he ask'd them, *whether they would*  
*have the Earl of March, who according to*  
*the same Agreement, ought to be King*? They  
 with a great Clamour answer'd, *Yea, Yea.*  
 Upon which some Commanders and others  
 of the City repair'd to the Earl of *March*  
 at *Beynards Castle*, to acquaint him with  
 what had past, who at first seem'd to ex-  
 cuse himself, as unable to execute so  
 great a Charge. But being animated by  
 the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops  
 of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *War-*  
*wick*, he at last consented to take it up-  
 on him. On the next Morning he went  
 in Procession to *St Paul's Church*, and  
 after *Te Deum* sung, he was in great State  
 convey'd to *Westminster*: There seated in  
 the most conspicuous Place of the Great  
 Hall, with the Scepter of *St Edward* in  
 his Hand, he made a Declaration of his  
 double Title to the Crown, first by *De-*  
*scent, as Heir to the Third Son of Edward the*  
*III.* Secondly, by *Authority of Parliament*,  
*which upon Examination of the Duke of York's*  
*Title, had confer'd the Crown immediately up-*  
*on him and his Heirs, when Henry the VI.*  
*should make Forfeiture of it by Death, Resig-*  
nation,



nation, or Breach of the Agreement there so-  
 lemnly sworn by them: and that this Agree-  
 ment was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke of  
 York at the Battel of Wakefield did sadly  
 manifest: Nevertheless; he protested himself  
 ready to give up the Justice of his Claim, ra-  
 ther than enter upon it without their Free Vote.  
 At which, with loud Applause, all cry'd  
 King Edward, King Edward! Transported  
 when they found their Voices were re-  
 quir'd to confirm him King, who de-  
 clar'd he wou'd not receive that Title  
 without their Suffrage. The Formality  
 of this Second Election thus past, &c. He  
 was proclaim'd King throughout the City,  
 by the Name of *Edward IV.* What a base  
 Compliance was this in a Monarch, the  
 Eldest Baron of a Race, that had the Right  
 to a Throne immediately from Heaven?  
 How far does that Right excel any which  
 can be given by the Voice of the Mul-  
 titude? And who wou'd owe his Crown  
 to the Good Will of the People that  
 had it before by the designation of God?  
 The Divine Right stamps the Sovereign  
 more immediately with the Image of the  
 Deity whom he represents, whereas an  
 Election shews he is no more than another  
 Mortal, except that the Voices of his Sub-  
 jects have given him an Authority over  
 them, which they that give may take, as we  
 shall see presently. Yet after all we never  
 met with a Prince who had the Heart and  
 Votes of his People, but he was as fond  
 of it as of the Title he held from Hea-  
 ven. And those of them who dispis'd those  
 Votes

Votes are such as were sure never to have had them: What a Happiness it is to a Nation to have a King come in after a Competition by Conquest, may be seen in the remaining part of the Life of King *Henry*. His Reign being now ended, and a Blow given to his Party in their Rout at the Battle of *Towton*, wherein fell near 40000 Men on both sides, that the House of *Lancaster* never effectually recover'd the Dominion till it was restor'd to them by *Henry VII.* Kings who come to the Throne by force, and during the Lives of their Rivals, are always so Jealous of their Dignity that they think they cannot defend it but by Tyranny: King *Edward* was an Amorous Gallant Prince, but his Competitor being alive, neither Gallantry nor Love cou'd soften him, and his Reign was immediately stain'd with Blood. An Instance of his Cruelty is given in the Execution of one *Walker*, a Substantial Citizen and Grocer, who was beheaded in *Smithfield* Eight Days after the King was proclaim'd, for saying *He wou'd make his Son Heir to the Crown*, meaning the Crown in *Cheapside* where he liv'd. *The Law*, says Echard, *was stretch'd, and somewhat more to remove the Man that spoke those unseasonable Words, the Crown lying then at Stake*: Such Kings will ever stretch the Law, and from such may our good God always deliver us.

The greatest Battle that was fought in this Quarrel was that of *Towton* before-mention'd, where the Slaughter was so terrible that the Rivers ran red with Blood.

Blood. What in the Name of Wonder was all this Fury for? The Two Competitors were Men of the same Race, the same Nation, the same Religion: Can one think there shou'd be found so many Mad Men in this Island, to Sacrifice their Lives to the Interest of two Persons when it did not concern them who prevail'd? Liberty was not here in question, Religion as safe under the one as the other. I must confess had I liv'd in such Times, and there had been nothing else in the Quarrel, they shou'd have decided it themselves for me; I wou'd not have hazarded my Estate, my Liberty and my Life to determine a Difference by which I got nothing but at the expence of my Neighbours Blood and Fortune. There is something merry in this Tragedy. The Forty Thousand Men that fell in the Fields of *Towton*, had nothing to hope for by Victory, but that their side would be uppermost, and their King shou'd not change his Name, for whether *Henry* or *Edward* they were still to be Subjects as free and as good Catholicks as they were before. Indeed, when Conscience and Interest are touch'd, when Liberty and Property are in Danger, that Man must have little Courage that does not think 'em worth defending, and covering more Fields than those of *Towton* with the Carcasses of such as wou'd destroy them. If *English* Men cou'd cut one anothers Throats because one Rose was red and the other white, what will they do when

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Popery and Slavery are in View, and the Price of Victory is Liberty and Religion? What Mr *Echard* writes of the Battle of *Towton*, is so agreeable to the Sentiments of those Times, that I cannot give it the Reader in more apt Words. 'Such was the Number of the Slain, All, says he, of one Nation, many in Alliance, some in Blood fatally divided by Faction, yet all animated by the same Zeal to maintain their Princes Right, which being so difficult to determine nicely, doubtless it made the Contest on both sides, how ruinous soever to their Families, not unsafe to their Consciences: And it is worthy of Observation, that in this long and cruel Conflict between the Two Royal Families, never any Stranger of Note was present at their Battels, as if the English had disdain'd to Conquer or Perish by any other Weapons but their own.

We have already mention'd the Methods of the Reigns of such as come in by Competition or Conquest. Nor are we to imagine that their Tyranny will exert itself against the meaner People, the greatest are sure to feel the Weight of their Rage and Power. King *Edward* was no sooner return'd from his Victory at *Towton*, than he caus'd *John* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Aubrey de Vere*, his Son, Sir *John Tidenham*, *Walter Montgomery*, and *Wm. Tyrrel*, Esqrs. to be beheaded, without Answer; a Formidable Proceeding, says *Echard*, and too much manifesting the Actions of a Conqueror.

King

King Henry, after the Rout of *Towton*, fled to *Scotland*, his Queen and Son to *France*, where She had small Comfort and Relief, and could obtain only, that her Friends should be admitted into that Kingdom freely, and her Enemies be forbidden Entrance, King Henry returning out of *Scotland* with an Army, was attack'd near *Hexham* by the *Torkists*, and entirely defeated with the Loss of 2000 Men. The Unfortunate Henry, as Mr. *Echard* writes, ' Fled into *Scotland*; but the Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Ross*, *Mollins*, and *Hungerford* with other Persons of Note, as unfortunately fell into the Hands of their Enemies, and were afterwards, according to the usual Proceedings of these Miserable Times, beheaded in cold Blood. Sir *Ralph Gray* was first Solemnly degraded from his Honour of Knighthood, and then led to Execution; then was the white Rose in every Place dy'd with the Blood of the Nobility, and the red Rose turn'd pale with Horror, to view the Calamities occasion'd by this Dissention. King Henry as weak in Understanding as he was, and as deficient in Courage, as much as his Heart was, set on an Immortal Crown, this Temporary one had so great a Share of it that he could not be easy in *Scotland*, but ventur'd to come privately, and in Disguise to *England* to try his Fortune once more, and see what his Friends would do for him; but he was betray'd at *Waddington Hall* in *Lancashire*, by the *Talbots* of

that County, who carry'd him in a Disgraceful manner to *London*, with his Legs bound under his Horses Belly : He was also arrested by the Earl of *Warwick*, and committed close Prisoner to the *Tower of London*. A Sudden and Strange Alteration of Estate, when he that was once the most Potent Monarch for Dominions that *England* ever had, was not now Master of a single Spot of Ground, nor Owner of his Liberty. His Friends were forc'd every where to submit, or to fly the Kingdom; as did the new Duke of *Somerset*, his Brother the Lord *John Beauford*, his Kinsman *Jasper Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and other Lords, who fled to *France*, where they liv'd on the Bounty of the *French King*: A strange Turn for the Conquerors to be reduc'd to live on the Charity of the Conquered. King *Edward* being settled, as he thought immovable, on the Throne, rewarded his Servants and Followers with the Titles and Offices of their Enemies.

The Lord *Gray of Ruthen*, who had deserted King *Henry's* Party, he made Treasurer of *England*; a Man so insolent, that being invited to Dine with some new Sergeants at *Ely House* in *Holbourn*, within the Jurisdiction of the City, he would have taken Place of my Lord Mayor, who with the Aldermen left the Company, rather than suffer such an Affront to be put upon him and the City.

I shall



I shall not interrupt the course of my History of King *Henry* the VI. with the Reign of *Edward* the IV. farther than it has immediate Relation to it. I therefore pass over his Marriage with Sir *John Grey's* Widow, which offended the whole Nation, and in especial manner the Proud Earl of *Warwick*, who had been sent to *France* to treat of a Marriage with the *French* Queen's Sister. This Slight and others the Earl had receiv'd from King *Edward*, who ow'd his Crown to his Services, so exasperated him, that he resolv'd to restore King *Henry*. To this purpose he engag'd King *Edward's* Brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, in his Party. The Duke's Disgust arising from the Advancement of Three Upstart Lords, and giving them Three of the richest Heiresses in the Nation in Marriage; there being nothing in the World which creates ill Blood so much as the Favour shown to Upstarts, and their enriching their own Poor Families with the Estates of Wealthy and Noble Orphans.

In the remaining part of this Story, we shall find, that the very Persons who cry'd up King *Edward's* Divine Right, are there fighting against him as an Usurper, and that the Frenzy of the *English* was such as to make 'em Butcher one another afresh, for Quarrels each side had before alternately espous'd. No Civil Powers cou'd alter the Right of Blood, was said when King *Edward's* Father first claim'd the Crown: And when after the Battel of *Banbury*, in which perish'd

10000 Men, the Earl of Warwick had taken King Edward Prisoner, his Person was then look'd upon by him to be so little Sacred, that the Earl told him, *He wou'd plain the Mountain he had rais'd, and elevate the Valley he had depress'd.*

In this State stood the Practice of *Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance* at this time. King Henry was Prisoner in the Tower, and King Edward in *Middleham Castle* in *Yorkshire*; where the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Warwick's Brother, kept so slight a Guard over him, that he made his escape to *London*. The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence enrag'd at the Archbishop's Folly and Neglect, sought means to encrease their Party and Interest against King Edward. The miserable Nation thus torn by these *Unnatural Divisions*, and none sure to enjoy what was their own, the Nobility again began to solicit both Parties to an Accommodation, and having effectually laid open the State of the Land, whose Ruin was become so imminent by these *Intestine Wars*, they at length so far prevail'd, that the Duke and Earl upon perfect Confidence came to *London* and had a Conference with King Edward; which proves of how little effect Interviews between Princes are in such Cases, for the King severely tax'd them with Disloyalty, and they him with Ingratitude; inso much, that their Resentments were nothing appeas'd, but much more exasperated, and they parted greater Enemies than ever.

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The breaking off this Treaty was follow'd with another Battel at *Stamford*, where Sir *Robert Welles* was routed by King *Edward*, and 10000 Men kill'd. The Earl of *Warwick* upon this went to the Court of *France* to solicit Succours, and there both he and the Duke of *Clarence* swore never to sheath their Swords till King *Henry* or his Son Prince *Edward* had recover'd the Kingdom.

The House of *York* had from the beginning of this Dispute been regardless of Oaths when their Interest was in view, and we shall see how well the Duke of *Clarence* kept this. In the mean time King *Edward* fell so severely on the *Lancastrians*, as forc'd them to fly to Sanctuary, or yield to his Mercy, as the Marquis *Mountrague*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Brother did. To divide his own Brother the Duke of *Clarence* from the Earl, he made use of a Female Agent, who under pretence of visiting the Dutcheß of *Clarence*, then in *France* with her Husband, so perswaded the Duke of the Danger his siding with *Warwick* brought his Family into, that she got a Promise from him to revolt to King *Edward*. This Woman was a Domestick of the Dutcheß of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Daughter. And being got over to the other Interest, serv'd it more successfully than all the Cunning Heads of that Party ever did before. She prevail'd upon the Governor of *Calais*, *Warwick's* Friend, to give her a Pass to the  
French



*French Court*, and was the sole Manager of an Enterprize which at length ruin'd the Earl and his whole Party. Men are more unguarded against the Wit of Women than against that of Men. They expect the Ladies shou'd be employ'd in other Things than Politicks; but they are sometimes mistaken, and I wonder why they shou'd be, if those Ladies have not Beauty enough to give Success to their Wit in Gallantry, 'tis very natural for 'em to make other use of it, and those who cannot please, are certainly the most likely to offend, if it is in their Power.

The Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* landing from *France*. made Proclamation, commanding all Men able to bear Arms to come in and joyn them, to fight against *Edward Duke of York*, who had usurp'd the Crown; and the People appear'd so generally to approve of their Design, that King *Edward* thinking his Person not safe, fled to his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was so afraid of offending the Earl of *Warwick*, that he caus'd *Henry's* Name to be put into a Treaty he had made with *England*, instead of *Edward*, and forbid his Subjects to assist the latter; yet privately assistance was given him, and he landed at *Raven spur* in *Yorkshire* with 3000 Men. King *Henry* had been taken out of the *Tower* by the Earl of *Warwick*, and solemnly reinstated in the Throne. The *English* began to fall off from the Interest of the House of *York*,  
and

and to return to their Allegiance to that of *Lancaster*; insomuch, that King *Edward* when he landed imitating his Father *Richard* Duke of *York*, who upon the like occasion thrice forswore himself, laid aside all Claim to the Crown, and by Oath declar'd he came only to recover his Inheritance. This Oath he renew'd to the Citizens of *York*, who wou'd not give him Entrance into the City without it; yet he was no sooner enabled, as he thought, to make good his Claim, but he caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King at *Nottingham*. He and his Followers had been attainted in their Absence, but now all Attainders were forgotten, as well as all Oaths; and the People out of Levity flock'd to him as fast as they had lately deserted him. The Duke of *Clarence* went over to King *Edward*, and the two Parties came to a most obstinate and bloody Battel at *Barnet*, in which fell the great Earl of *Warwick*, and above 12000 Men on both sides.

This broke the Power and Spirit of the *Lancastrians*; and tho' Queen *Margaret* and her Son, Prince *Edward*, landing in the West from *France*, continu'd the Struggle, it was more the effect of Despair than Courage, and the loss of the Battel of *Temkesbury*, in which near 4000 Men were slaughter'd, ruin'd the Affairs of the House of *Lancaster*, occasion'd the Death of Prince *Edward*, which was follow'd with the Murder of King *Henry*, and left King *Edward*

no Competitor for the Crown but *Henry Earl of Richmond*, a Lad then in Exile in *Bretagne*, whom every one but King *Edward* himself took for an Object of Pity or Contempt, rather than Jealousy.

We have seen what was the Rise and Issue of the fatal Divisions that tore this Kingdom in Pieces during these distracted Times; and if we take a Survey of the Battels fought between the Contending Parties, from the 23d of *May* 1455. when the first Battel happen'd at *St. Albans*, to the 23d of *May* 1471. when King *Henry* was murther'd in the *Tower*, just 16 Years, we shall find there fell in 12 Fights near 100000 *English-men*, and perhaps half as many more by Executions, Rencounters, and Skirmishes. Nor did this Bloody Dispute end here, tho' here we must end our History. It continu'd in the following Reign's till towards the latter end of *Henry* the VII. in whose Son the two Titles were united, *Henry* the VIII. being the Heir by his Mother to the House of *York*, and by his Father to that of *Lancaster*. His Father came in by a Revolution, and was proclaim'd and crown'd King immediately on the Death of *Richard* the III. in *Bosworth Field*; and tho' afterwards he marry'd the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to *Edward* the IV. yet out of hatred to the House of *York*, having gain'd the Victory, says Mr. *Echard*, and destroy'd his Opposer, he positively resolv'd not to be King but by his own Title and Interest: He therefore deferred his



his Marriage and her Coronation, till such time as being crown'd himself and establish'd by Parliament, he had only accepted of the Title of Lancaster, as the first and chiefest Fundamental.

I shall close this History with the Remarks of the same Author on the Fate of the House of York, whose Princes in asserting their *Divine Right* against those of the House of Lancaster, who had the Parliamentary, involv'd this Unhappy Nation in so much Misery. *As to the House of York in particular*, says he, *which in strictness had the nearest Right to the Crown*, the Reader may, if he pleases, judge of it for himself, notwithstanding my Author is a Clergy-man, *It was founded and rais'd upon such Violations of the Laws of God and Man, that it could not last above 24 Years, tho' it was supported by all the Powers of Human Strength and Policy.* Richard the III. may truly be said to be descended from an Unfortunate House. The Earl of Cambridge, his Grandfather, was beheaded at Southampton; the Duke of York, his Father, Slain before Sandal; of his Three Brothers the Earl of Rutland was Slain in cold Blood, the Duke of Clarence drowned in a But of Malmsey, and his Two Nephews strangled in their Beds: So that we can meet with no Tragedy, true or fabulous, where we find so many various and cruel Deaths as in this Family.



